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FBCS 04

## HAYKAL VIEWS KISSINGER'S CONCEPT OF 'SUCCESS'

MO32230 CAIRO MENA IN ARABIC 2055 GMT 3 JAN 74 M

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(TEXT) CAIRO--IN HIS WEEKLY ARTICLE "FRANKLY SPEAKING" TO BE PUBLISHED IN AL-AHRAM TOMORROW, FRIDAY, MUHAMMAD HASANYAN HAYKAL DISCUSSES THE MEANING OF "SUCCESS" WHICH U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER MAY ACHIEVE IN SOLVING THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS.

SUCCESS, HAYKAL SAYS, IS NOT AN ABSOLUTE MEANING, SUCCESS MUST BE A VALUE RELATIVE TO A CERTAIN CRITERION. THE MEANING OF KISSINGER'S SUCCESS IN SOLVING THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS IS THAT THIS SUCCESS WOULD BE ACCORDING TO HIS OWN LAW AND NOT ANY OTHER LAW IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE HIS OWN OBJECTIVES.

HAYKAL ASSERTS THE NEED TO ACT SO THAT KISSINGER'S SUCCESS WILL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH A LAW THAT WE WILL IMPOSE BY FORCE AND ITS VARIOUS MEANS.

HAYKAL BEGINS HIS ARTICLE BY SPEAKING ABOUT THE IMPRESSIONS WHICH HE FORMED FROM THE MANY MESSAGES AND TALKS HE HAD WITH INTERNATIONAL AND ARAB PERSONALITIES, THAT THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM IS ON ITS WAY TO BEING SOLVED SINCE HENRY KISSINGER IS HANDLING IT. THIS IS BECAUSE THE MAN HAS BECOME ADDICTED TO SUCCESS AND WILL NOT ALLOW THE LEGEND OF SUCCESS, OF WHICH HE HAS BECOME THE HERO, TO BE LOST. HAYKAL ADMITS THAT THIS IS TRUE AND, AS EVIDENCE, HE SAYS THE U.S. POLICY TAKES THIS FACT INTO CONSIDERATION AND THEREFORE IS TRYING TO CONVINCE THE ARABS TO ACCEPT THE LEADING U.S. ROLE IN THE ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS.

HAYKAL SAYS THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HIMSELF HAD PERSONALLY SAID THIS TO THE FOUR ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS WHO MET WITH HIM IN THE WHITE HOUSE ON 17 OCTOBER WHEN THE WAR IN THE AREA WAS AT ITS PEAK. NIXON TOLD THE ARAB MINISTERS THAT HE WANTS THE ARABS TO DEAL WITH KISSINGER AND THAT, ALTHOUGH HE IS A JEW, HE IS LOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES AND IMPLEMENTS NIXON'S POLICY; HE HAD PREVIOUSLY SOLVED OUR PROBLEMS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA; HE ALSO WAS ABLE TO SOLVE THE VIETNAM PROBLEM; HE HAS SUCCEEDED IN ALL THIS AND THEREFORE HE IS CAREFUL ABOUT HIS CREDIT OF SUCCESS; AND HE HAS WON THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE AND DOES NOT WANT TO LOSE HIS RIGHT TO IT.

HAYKAL THEN DISCUSSES THE MEANING OF SUCCESS WHICH KISSINGER COULD ACHIEVE. HE SAYS THAT THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE OF ANY PERSON IS THE ONLY CRITERION AGAINST WHICH WE CAN MEASURE THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF ANY EFFORT ONE UNDERTAKES. SUCCESS VARIES BETWEEN ONE PERSON AND ANOTHER WITH THE DIFFERENCE IN THE OBJECTIVE OF EACH PERSON. IN OTHER WORDS, WHAT CAN BE CONSIDERED AS A SUCCESS IN A CERTAIN MATTER TO ANWAR AS-SADAT COULD BE A FAILURE TO GOLDA MEIR.

HAYKAL THEN WONDERS WHAT SUCCESS COULD MEAN TO HENRY KISSINGER REGARDING THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS AND WHAT HIS OBJECTIVES ARE. HE SAYS: THE MAN, OF COURSE, WANTS TO SUCCEED IN HIS OBJECTIVE. THE OBJECTIVE THAT ANY MAN SEEKS IN HIS LAW FOR SUCCESS.

HAYKAL ADMITS THAT HE ADMIRES KISSINGER'S PERSONALITY, BUT ADDS THAT HE IS AFRAID THAT KISSINGER WILL SUCCEED IN SOLVING THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS BECAUSE HIS SUCCESS WILL BE ACCORDING TO HIS OWN LAW AND NOT ANY OTHER. WHAT COULD BE A SUCCESS ACCORDING TO HIS LAW WILL NOT BE A SUCCESS ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF OTHERS. THIS IS THE DIFFERENCE IN OBJECTIVES. HAYKAL THEN ASKS AGAIN WHAT KISSINGER'S OBJECTIVES ARE AND ANSWERS THAT HE BELIEVES THAT KISSINGER AND THE U.S. POLICY HAVE FIVE AIMS WHICH KISSINGER WANTS TO ACHIEVE TO SOLVE THE CRISIS.

THE FIRST OF THESE IS THE PROTECTION AND GUARANTEEING OF ISRAEL'S SECURITY. HAYKAL SAYS THAT KISSINGER DID NOT DISCLOSE IN HIS PUBLIC TALKS NOR IN HIS PRIVATE TALKS WITH HIM HIS CONCEPT OF THE BORDERS WITHIN WHICH KISSINGER AND THE UNITED STATES WOULD UNDERTAKE TO PROTECT AND GUARANTEE ISRAEL'S SECURITY. HAYKAL EXPRESSES THE BELIEF THAT KISSINGER DOES NOT APPROVE OF ISRAEL'S EXPANSION TO THE 5 OCTOBER 1973 LINE. NEITHER DOES HE APPROVE OF ISRAEL'S RETURN TO THE 4 JUNE 1967 LINE. KISSINGER AND THE UNITED STATES CAN SEE A POINT BETWEEN THOSE TWO LINES IN WHICH THEY WOULD PROTECT AND GUARANTEE ISRAEL'S SECURITY. "BUT WHERE DOES THIS POINT EXACTLY LIE ON THE MAP AS FAR AS EGYPT, PALESTINE AND SYRIA ARE CONCERNED? I DO NOT KNOW, AND I DO NOT THINK OTHERS KNOW. I CAN ALMOST SAY THAT HE, HENRY KISSINGER, HAS NOT SO FAR DECIDED."

(MORE)

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ONLY ADD 04 (HAYKAL ARTICLE)

XXX SO FAR DECIDED.

(TEXT) HAYKAL SAYS THAT THE SECOND OBJECTIVE OF KISSINGER AND THE U.S. POLICY IN THE AREA IS THE CONTINUOUS UNINTERRUPTED FLOW OF ARAB OIL AT ACCEPTABLE PRICES. ARAB OIL, HE ADDS, IS NOT A MATTER OF LIFE OR DEATH AS A SOURCE OF ENERGY FOR THE UNITED STATES AT PRESENT, BUT IT IS A SOURCE OF STRATEGIC AND ECONOMIC POWER.

HAYKAL POINTS OUT IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THE WAY WE HAVE USED THE OIL WEAPON SO FAR HAS NOT GREATLY HARMED THE UNITED STATES. RATHER, HE SAYS, THE UNITED STATES HAS SO FAR BEEN BENEFITING FROM THIS WAY (OF USING THE ARAB OIL WEAPON-- FBIS) BECAUSE THE GAME OF PRICES IS SUITABLE TO THE UNITED STATES SINCE IT IS THE BIGGER PARTNER IN ALL THE ARAB OIL REVENUES AND THE RISE IN THE OIL PRICES MEANS A GAIN FOR IT. FURTHERMORE, HE ADDS, THE PRICE INCREASE IS A MEANS FOR IT TO SUBJECT WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN TO THE DOMINATION OF U.S. POLICY WITHOUT FEELING ANY EXCESSES WITH REGARD TO WESTERN EUROPE AND PARTICULARLY FRANCE, AND WITHOUT A SENSE OF DEADLY COMPETITION WITH THE MIRACULOUS JAPANESE GROWTH. (SENTENCE AS RECEIVED) IN OTHER WORDS, HE SAYS, THE GAME OF PRICES WILL ULTIMATELY STRENGTHEN THE U.S. DOLLAR AND WEAKEN THE JAPANESE YEN AND EUROPEAN CURRENCIES AGAINST THE DOLLAR.

THE THIRD OBJECTIVE OF KISSINGER AND THE U.S. POLICY IN THE AREA, HAYKAL SAYS, IS TO PRESERVE THE DETENTE BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS IN THE AREA.

THE FOURTH OBJECTIVE, HE ADDS, IS TO RESTORE OR REAFFIRM COMPLETE AND SOLE U.S. INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AGAINST THE U.S. RIVAL, THE SOVIET UNION, BUT WITHOUT CLASHING WITH IT. THIS, HAYKAL SAYS, MEANS GETTING THE SOVIET ARMS OUT OF THE AREA SINCE THEY ARE THE BIGGEST AND MOST EFFECTIVE SYMBOL OF SOVIET PRESENCE THERE. IT ALSO MEANS KEEPING THEM OUT AND REDUCING SOVIET POLITICAL INFLUENCE BY ALL MEANS AND, IF POSSIBLE, THROUGH THE LOCAL POWERS IN THE AREA WITHOUT DIRECT U.S. INTERVENTION OR PRESSURE IN ORDER TO AVOID THE POSSIBILITY OF DIRECT FRICTION BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS.

HAYKAL ADDS: THE FIFTH AND LAST OBJECTIVE OF KISSINGER AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE AREA IS TO TRY TO WIN THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE REGIMES AND THEN, IF POSSIBLE, THE PEOPLES OF THE AREA. REGARDING THE REGIMES, THE FIRST PRIORITY WOULD OF COURSE BE THE TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIPS--ESPECIALLY WHERE THERE IS OIL. AFTER THAT THERE WOULD BE NO HARM IN (THE FRIENDSHIP--FBIS) OF OTHER REGIMES WHOSE FRIENDSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES MAY NOT BE TRADITIONAL AND WHERE THE EARTH MAY NOT BE FULL OF OIL.

AS FOR THE PEOPLES, THE PRIORITY WOULD BE FOR DEALING WITH THEM SEPARATELY AS SEPARATE ENTITIES INSTEAD OF AS ONE NATION WITH ONE STRATEGY. THERE WOULD THEN BE NO HARM IN CONCENTRATING MORE ON STATES WITH WEIGHT AND POSITION IN THE AREA, PROVIDED THEY ARE WILLING TO RESPOND.

AFTER REVIEWING WHAT HE BELIEVES TO BE THE U.S. OBJECTIVES IN THE AREA, HAYKAL SAYS THAT WHILE HE DOES NOT WANT KISSINGER TO SUCCEED IN THE MIDDLE EAST ACCORDING TO HIS OWN LAW, HE WANTS HIM TO SUCCEED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ANOTHER LAW WHICH WE MUST IMPOSE.

HAYKAL ADDS: "WE DID PART OF THIS ON 6 OCTOBER, BUT A LAW CANNOT BE IMPOSED IN ONE DAY, BUT RATHER THROUGH DAILY REAFFIRMATION OF ITS EFFECTIVENESS. IT IS NOT NECESSARY THAT THE LAW BE REAFFIRMED ONLY BY ARMS, ALTHOUGH WE MUST REMEMBER THAT THE FINAL SUPPORT FOR ANY LAW IS THE CONSPICUOUS OR LATENT FORCE BEHIND IT."

IN CONCLUSION, HAYKAL SAYS THAT EVEN WITHIN THE SAME SOCIETY, AUTHORITY IS THE ULTIMATE SUPPORT OF THE LAW; IN THE COMMUNITY OF STATES, POWER REPLACES AUTHORITY AS THE ULTIMATE SUPPORT OF THE LAW.

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